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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Memorandum

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: JAN 2002

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THE CRISIS
USSR/CUBA

24 October 1962

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SC No. 11028/62

24 October 1962

SUMMARY CONTENTS

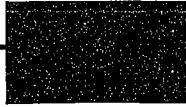
1. We do not believe the measures to achieve a higher degree of action readiness for Soviet and bloc forces are being taken on a crash basis. Communist reaction to the US quarantine action against Cuba has not gone beyond the highly critical but uncommitting statement issued yesterday by the Soviet government.

2. Surveillance of Cuba indicates continued rapid progress in completion of IRBM and MRBM missile sites. No new sites have been discovered. Buildings believed to afford nuclear storage are being assembled with great rapidity. Cuban naval units have been ordered to blocking positions at Banes and Santiago Bays.

3. Survey of Soviet shipping shows 16 dry cargo and 6 tanker ships en route to Cuba. Of these 22, nine are in positions which would permit arrival by the end of October. Three ships have hatches suitable for missile handling, 

4. Official world reaction shows a generally favorable response to the US action, particularly in Latin America. The OAS representatives approved a resolution endorsing the quarantine without opposition, one abstention was due to lack of instructions.

5. There are no indications of any Soviet aircraft movements to Cuba.

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24 October 1962

THE SITUATION IN THE BLOC

I. Military Status

1. We have noted the following Soviet military developments; an assessment of their significance will be issued by the USIB Watch Committee this morning. Our preliminary analysis leads us to believe that moves to increase the readiness of Soviet forces are not being implemented on a crash basis.

2. Maritime: [REDACTED]

no change in the movements of Soviet ships en route to Cuba has been noted. [REDACTED]

3. Naval: The fleet support ship Terek was sighted about 700 n.m. NW of the Azores at 231200 GMT on a south-westerly course. This ship had refueled a Z class submarine on 22 October. There are seven probable submarine detachments [REDACTED] at sea. [REDACTED]

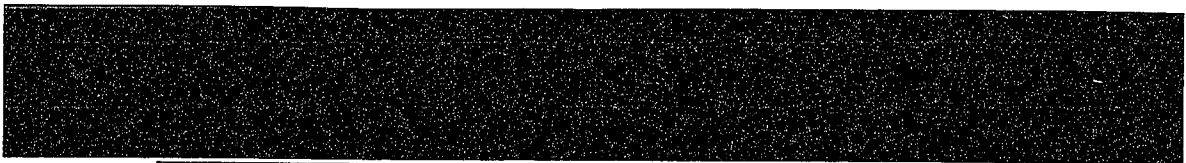
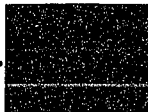
4. Air: Long Range Air Force flight activity levels in the Western USSR on 23 October were somewhat lower than normal. Activity levels in the Soviet Far East have been higher than in Western USSR. [REDACTED]

5. Ground: There have been no indications that any Soviet or satellite ground force units have deployed or are preparing to deploy to the field for other than training purposes.

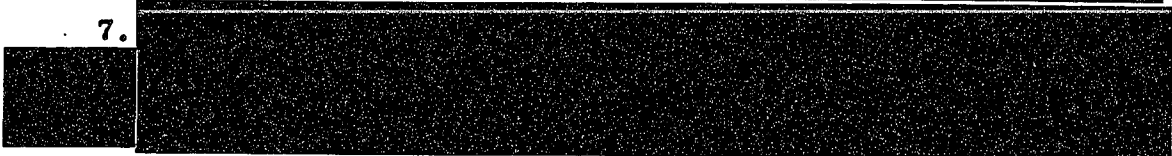
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II. Bloc Statements of Positions

1. The Soviet Union, while stepping up the volume of its propaganda on the President's speech, continues to avoid any hint of specific counteractions to the announcement of the quarantine. Moscow and regional stations assert that a "wave of meetings" protesting the United States action regarding Cuba is "rolling over the USSR." It is standard Soviet practice to arrange such "spontaneous" meetings as part of the orchestration for a major crisis.

2. Soviet propaganda is following closely the line established in the government's formal statement of 23 October, emphasizing the defensive nature of any arms shipped to Cuba and asserting that US claims of a "mythical threat" from Cuba are a "clumsy attempt to cover up unprecedented aggressive actions."

3. Although the Soviet government has been careful not to reveal what it intends to do when the US quarantine goes into effect, Soviet officials are informally following a line similar to that taken by Khrushchev in a number of earlier private conversations with Westerners. The Director of TASS, now in Hiroshima, is reported to have said the Soviet ships will not stop on orders from the US Navy and that sinking a Soviet ship will result in the sinking of American ships. A middle-ranking member of the Soviet UN delegation reportedly said that the USSR will arm its ships to cope with the United States action against Cuba. Soviet military attachés at a reception at the Soviet Embassy in Washington last night claimed that Soviet ships steaming toward Cuba were under orders not to be stopped or searched.

4. The European satellites are also increasing the volume of their propaganda attacks on the President's speech. The most extensive comment has emanated from East Germany, but no threats concerning Berlin have been noted as yet.

5. Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have issued formal statements which parallel closely the statement issued by the Soviet government. Similar government statements can be expected from the other satellite regimes.

6. Yugoslavia has not yet taken an official position on the matter, according to a foreign office representative. In public commentary, Belgrade, while expressing concern over possible "inevitable consequences" of the current crisis, has also avoided taking a firm position.

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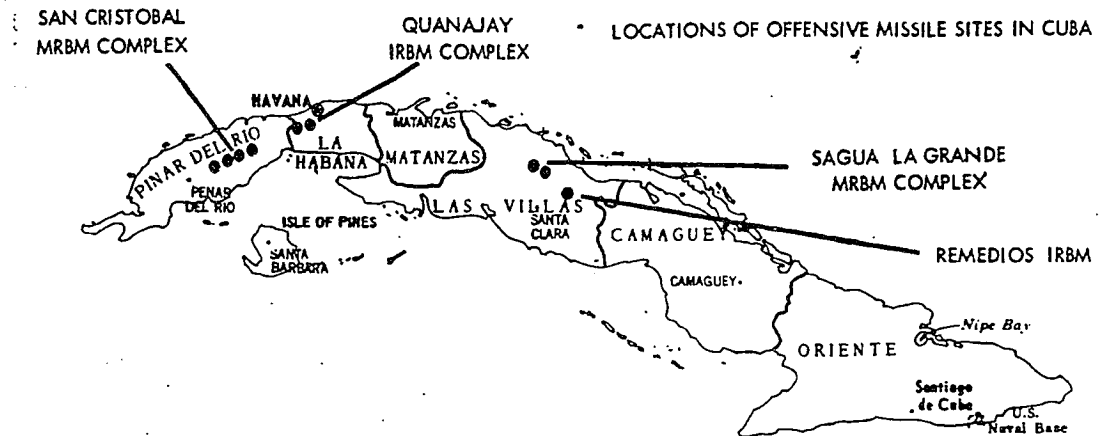
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7. Peiping has joined the rest of the bloc in condemning the US action, terming it the signal for new US aggressive moves against Cuba and a serious menace to peace in the Caribbean area. It charged that President Kennedy's action was taken on the "pretext" that a "series of offensive missile sites are now in preparation by the Soviet Union on Cuba." This is a more explicit statement of the reason behind the US action than the USSR has made. Beyond a bland expression of confidence that the Cuban people will have the support of the entire bloc in this crisis, and a promise that China will stand by the Cubans, Peiping's commentary to date contains no hint that any Chinese countermove is contemplated.



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THE SITUATION IN CUBA

1. No new offensive missile sites have been discovered. Surveillance of 22 and 23 October show that rapid construction continues at the identified sites. The 65-by-35-foot possible nuclear warhead building at San Cristobal Site 1 was completely assembled in two days--20 to 22 October. Most of the construction material at Guanajay Sites 1 and 2 is pre-fabricated.

2. Nuclear storage sites apparently are being built on the basis of one site per missile regiment.


3. San Cristobal MRBM Site 2 and Sagua La Grande Site 1 are now estimated to achieve full operational capability on 25 October instead of 22 October.

4. Seven Soviet ships with cargo hatch openings of 75 feet or longer have now been identified as possible ballistic carriers. They have made 13 trips to Cuba to date and three are now enroute to Cuba.

5. A review of refugee reports indicates that plans to deploy ballistic missiles in Cuba were being executed by the end of August when site locations apparently had been selected and the surveys for the initial IRBM installations probably had been completed.

6. The military alert continues for all Cuban units.



7. Press reports of increasing tension in Havana were echoed  in Havana reporting that the atmosphere in the Cuban capital was "very tense even though there is apparent calm."

8. Castro's 90-minute radio and television speech on the even of 23 October was a relatively mild and lacklustre performance. Aside from the usual history of "Yankee aggression" against the Castro regime, the principle features of note were an awkward denial of the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba and Castro's categorical refusal to allow any inspection of Cuban territory. The relatively subdued tone of Castro's speech, together with the continued absence of any official

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comment on the crisis by other regime leaders, suggests that the Cubans are under constraint to let Moscow take the lead in expressing reaction.

9. There are no indications yet as to the effect the quarantine will have on the Cuban general public or on those Cubans who oppose the regime. The 23 October suspension by Cuba of civil airline flights to and from the island will probably increase the anxiety of those Cubans who would otherwise attempt to leave. Cuban exiles generally view the announcement of the quarantine as "the beginning of the end" for the Castro regime, but there is no information as to what action, if any, groups such as Alpha 66 now plan to mount against Castro.

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24 October 1962

SOVIET SHIPPING TO CUBA

1. Our present count shows 22 ships en route to Cuba, of which 16 are dry cargo ships and six are tankers. Of the nine ships [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] two have already arrived in Cuban ports. We have not noted any unusual activity on the part of the other seven ships [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

2. Nine of the ships en route have estimated arrival times at Cuban ports by the end of October. One or two of these ships may not reach port until early November.

3. The three ships on the attached list which are asterisked have holds with hatches big enough to accommodate MRBMs or IRBMs. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

4. The estimated times of arrival of all the listed vessels are based on positions prior to President Kennedy's speech on 22 October and may vary depending on instruction from Moscow.

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SOVIET SHIPS CURRENTLY EN ROUTE TO CUBA
As of 2100 23 October 1962

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Latest Position</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>ETA Havana Area</u>
1. Aleksandrovsk	22 Oct 1634Z 30:30N, 71:30W	Dry Cargo	25 Oct
2. Kimovsk*	23 Oct 0700Z 23:20N, 61:30W	Dry Cargo	25 Oct
3. Vinnitsa	24 Oct 0000Z 24:00N, 70:30W	Tanker	26 Oct
4. Bucharest	23 Oct 1500Z 26:18N, 53:51W	Tanker	27 Oct
5. Dolmatovo	23 Oct 1146Z 27:00N, 35:42W	Dry Cargo	28-29 Oct
6. Grozny	23 Oct 0001Z 27:36N, 37:18W	Tanker	29 Oct
7. Poltava*	23 Oct 1500Z 35:10N, 59:55W	Dry Cargo	29 Oct
8. Kislovodsk	23 Oct 1500Z 36:43N, 24:32W	Dry Cargo	31 Oct
9. Fizik Vavilov	23 Oct 0947Z 35:30N, 07:00W	Dry Cargo	31 Oct-1 Nov
10. Bolshevik Sukhanov	23 Oct 1500Z 34:17N, 25:24W	Dry Cargo	1 Nov
11. Okhotsk*	20 Oct 2330Z (Istanbul)	Dry Cargo	1-2 Nov
12. Urgench	20 Oct 1500Z 36:21N, 01:25W	Dry Cargo	1 Nov
13. Metallurg Kurako	23 Oct 1015Z 32:18N, 34:42W	Dry Cargo	2 Nov
14. Uryapinsk	22 Oct 1300Z 36:17N, 03:18W	Dry Cargo	2-3 Nov

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15. S. Botkin	19 Oct (in Med- iterranean)	Dry Cargo	2-3 Nov
16. Karl Marx	22 Oct 1800Z 35:42N, 16:00W	Tanker	3 Nov
17. Mir	23 Oct 1800Z 37:18N, 01:50W	Tanker	3 Nov
18. Emelyan	Due Panama Canal 2 Nov	Dry Cargo	4 Nov
19. Mednogorsk	20 Oct 1815Z (Istanbul)	Dry Cargo	4 Nov
20. Belovodsk	20 Oct (Skagerrak)	Dry Cargo	4-5 Nov
21. Ural	21 Oct 47:24N, 06:13W	Tanker	8 Nov
22. Khirug Uishnevsky	23 Oct 0110Z (Istanbul)	Dry Cargo	9 Nov

The following Soviet ships arrived in Cuban ports during the past few days. One, the passenger ship NIKOLAEVSK, was followed by a US naval ship for a couple of hours on 23 October before making port;

Almetevsk	Dry Cargo
Dubno	Dry Cargo
Yuri Gagarin	Dry Cargo
Nikolaevsk	Passenger
Fizik Kurchatov	Dry Cargo
Metallurg Anasov	Dry Cargo
Moscow Festival	Tanker
Leninsky Komsomol	Dry Cargo
Divnogorsk	Dry Cargo

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24 October 1962

NON-BLOC REACTION

I. UN and OAS

1. The UN Security Council adjourned on the evening of 23 October without voting on either the US or Soviet resolution, and is to reconvene this morning. The UK and Nationalist China have instructed their delegations to support the US resolution; other Security Council members are awaiting instructions. A Soviet veto of the US resolution is regarded as certain.

2. Some 40 UN members, with the nonaligned nations that met in Belgrade in 1961 as their core, have initiated a move to have Acting Secretary General U Thant bring the US and USSR together to settle the problem without resorting to force. This group, reportedly including Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico and Jamaica, has nominated a three-man delegation to meet with U Thant this morning. They are Zenon Rossides of Cyprus, Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, and Mahmoud Riad of the United Arab Republic. We have no information whether Yugoslavia is a member of this group.

3. Latin American support for the US position on Cuba marked the first time such strong measures have been approved by the OAS. The US arms quarantine was approved and the US-sponsored resolution adopted 19 to 0, with Uruguay abstaining because of lack of instructions, but able to cast its vote later. In the vote on the important section of the resolution, providing for use of force if deemed necessary, only Mexico and Bolivia joined Uruguay in abstaining. The ABC countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, all notably reluctant to support anti-Cuban resolutions at previous OAS meetings, voted in favor of this section. A US amendment seeking dispatch by the UN of observers to Cuba was also voted 19 to 0 with Uruguay abstain-ing.

4. Pro-Castro groups in Latin America have not so far caused extensive disorder because of the OAS endorsement of US measures against Cuba. These groups are believed, however, to have plans for organizing strikes, sabotage, and demonstrations against any governments that support the United States if counterrevolution breaks out in Cuba or if that country is attacked. Minor demonstrations have been reported

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only in Santiago de Chile and Rio de Janeiro

II. THE WESTERN WORLD

A. Official Reaction

1. The British Cabinet met for nearly three hours yesterday, following which the Foreign Office issued a statement expressing "deep concern at the provocative action of the Soviet Union in placing offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba" and calling the Soviet Union "guilty of deception as well as deliberately opening up a new area of instability." Gaitskill met Macmillan and reportedly urged him to go to Washington for talks with President Kennedy on the blockade order. The Government today asked British ship owners to be as cooperative as possible with American authorities in the Caribbean. Labor Party foreign affairs spokesman Harold Wilson told a television audience that it would have been preferable to take the Cuba problem to the UN first.
2. Before taking part in a cabinet meeting devoted mainly to the international situation, Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker denied that the Canadian government, as reported previously, had forbidden Soviet planes en route to Cuba to use Canadian airports. He stated that commercial policies with regard to Cuba had not been modified and that all trade with Cuba is free except for that which deals with arms traffic. Opposition leader Lester B. Pearson stated that the Cuban crisis had forced him to "completely revise his opinion on Cuban policy, particularly on trade." Accordingly, he is urging Canada to take a "long hard look at our whole Cuban policy."
3. Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced in Parliament his strong support for the US action against Cuba. He has ordered his ambassador to the UN to support the proposed US resolution. Caldwell, the opposition leader, stressed the peace theme and the horrors of war but gave no indication that he approved US actions.
4. New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Holyoake said he was sure that President Kennedy had acted out of necessity.
5. West German Chancellor Adenauer informed the CDU-CSU Bundestag faction that he had been convinced by evidence that the Soviets are establishing in Cuba a base for aggression against the entire North American continent. Today the defense council of the Federal Government will convene to discuss the

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Cuban crisis. The foreign policy committee of the Bundestag plans to deal with the same problem on Friday. Adenauer's ruling Christian Democratic party said: "The German people understand President Kennedy's necessary decision and give it complete support."

6. A regular meeting of the French cabinet under deGaulle is expected to discuss Cuba today. De Gaulle has told US officials that France will act in accord with the US. The foreign ministry, however, is reluctant to make any public statement as it considers Berlin too much a part of the picture and is wary because of the differences in the US and French approach to that problem.

[REDACTED] but there has been no alert of regular army and navy forces. The armed forces ministry has no official comment on the alert measures.

7. The foreign ministers of Norway, Denmark and Sweden all expressed concern over the gravity of the international situation but hoped that the matter could be handled satisfactorily by the UN before it took a dangerous turn.

8. Belgian Senate President Paul Struye, a right-wing conservative with a strong anti-American bias, and an expert on international law, said there was no legal basis for American interception of Cuba-bound shipping. Foreign Minister Spaak, however, said "We understand the reasons which have led the Americans to act in this way."

9. Prime Minister De Quae of the Netherlands informed the US ambassador that the President's action, in view of the circumstances, was right and correct, and that this was a situation which could not be tolerated because of its menace not only to the US but to the free world. De Quae, however, said he would reserve any comments from his government to Parliament until there were further developments.

10. Prime Minister Fanfani told the Italian senate that Italy always opposed the creation of new bases which would threaten world peace and said his government was in full agreement with the US in bringing its case to the UN where its position would have the full support of the Italian delegation. The Prime Minister made the same statement to the Chamber of Deputies last night.

11. Swiss President Chaudet praised Kennedy's speech in a talk with the US ambassador and said that the time had come

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take a stand. Personally, he welcomed the quarantine although it materially increased the chances of accidental war. He felt the Soviets might attempt a counter move in Berlin.

12. Spanish government officials have spoken individually to the US ambassador more enthusiastically of the President's actions than the official Foreign Office communiqué. The Foreign Office Undersecretary said that the Cuban situation was clearly intolerable for the US and direct action was required. The Chiefs of the Spanish Armed Forces also made clear their approval. A spokesman for the Compania Transatlantica steamship line said its ships would continue stopping at Cuban ports pending instructions from the government.

B. Unofficial Reaction

1. The British press has interpreted the cabinet position as meaning that London would cooperate in the blockade of Cuba. There continues to be a great deal of unfavorable editorial comment in addition to the rather sour reaction recorded initially. Canadian press comment is still mixed but remains largely favorable to the US position. The Irish press generally felt that President Kennedy did what he had to do.

2. West German press comment remains strongly approving of the US position. West Berliners are reported bracing themselves for a possible blockade of the city as a Soviet retaliation for the Cuban arms quarantine. Precautionary hoarding of food is reported, but there is no feeling of panic, mainly relief that the US has taken the offensive in the cold war. French newspapers are generally sympathetic toward the US action but several criticized the lack of consultation with NATO countries. Influential Le Monde wondered how good Kennedy's information is and said "American intelligence sometimes makes mistakes." Elsewhere in Western Europe press coverage has been meager, mostly straight news reporting with little analysis or editorial comment.

III ASIA-AFRICA

1. Africa: Reaction has been sharp in Ghana where President Nkrumah favors UN-sponsored inspection of Cuba and points out that the US has its own missiles bordering the USSR. The government-controlled press contends that the US action is "just an excuse for a second attempt at destroying Cuba after the abject and shameful failure of the first." Liberian President Tubman and South African Foreign Secretary Jooste have expressed unqualified support for the US action. The latter asserts that

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the present crisis may bring to light countless evidences of Soviet penetration throughout Africa, to an extent that will surprise the Africans themselves.

2. Arab World: United Arab Republic political circles believe that the Cuban crisis is the direct result of a policy of "blocs and military bases." They have called for immediate efforts to liquidate bases--Malta and Cyprus were specifically cited--to achieve disarmament, and to put an end to the policy of interference and threats with atomic weapons. President Nasir is reported not critical of the US move per se, but fears that it may be exploited by Israel for military action against the Arab States or by the United Kingdom against Yemen. The Algerian government-controlled radio contends that whatever the nature of the military buildup in Cuba, that country retains sovereign rights, and complains that "responsible US military people have never abandoned their plan for the invasion and occupation of Cuba."

3. Mediterranean: Official quarters in Turkey have refrained from commenting. Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis gave Ambassador Labouisse categorical assurance of his government's full support for the actions outlined by President Kennedy.

4. There has been no comment from officials either in India or Pakistan. Semi-official press services in both countries, however, have given extensive news coverage to the crisis with headlines featuring Cuban complaints to the UN about the US naval blockade. The Philippines and South Vietnam applaud President Kennedy's firm stand on Cuba. President Diem's brother and counselor, Ngo Dinh Nhu, expects Communist pressure on Laos and South Vietnam to increase as a result. In Indonesia a confidential source reports that Communist demonstrations, probably with the tacit approval of the government, will take place at US installations and residences. Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda has told a press conference that the US action will not seriously affect Japanese shipping companies, which already had decided to suspend calls at Cuban ports, and that his government consequently was adopting a "wait and see" attitude.

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1. President Ydigoras indicated that the Guatemalan army is available for service under the Rio Pact. President Guido ordered the Argentine Navy to undertake whatever operations may be necessary in defense of the continent. Venezuelan Foreign Minister Falcon Bricene declared his country would assume its responsibilities in accordance with its obligations. Venezuela has also asked the Inter-American Defense Board to meet in Washington. Peru has offered troops if there is unanimous Latin American support for such action. President Orlich has placed Costa Rican port and airport facilities at the disposition of the United States for needs of air and naval craft engaged in quarantine of Cuba.

2. Eight countries--Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua and El Salvador--have alerted military and police forces against subversive activities and to protect US citizens and property.

3. In Chile the leaders of the Democratic Front, made up of the Liberal, Conservative, and Radical Parties, are considering putting pressure on President Alessandri to sever relations with Cuba.

4. Latin American radio generally continued to support President Kennedy's actions. Newspaper coverage has been excellent, and the limited editorial reaction is mostly favorable. In Buenos Aires, La Prensa and Correo de la Tarde strongly backed the US position, as did the principal Bogota and Asuncion papers, Diario Latino in San Salvador, and Novedades in Managua. In Montevideo, La Epoca declared for Cuba.

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